

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOOMEY). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 50, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 161 Ex.]

YEAS—50

Alexander	Flake	Paul
Barrasso	Gardner	Perdue
Blunt	Graham	Portman
Boozman	Grassley	Risch
Burr	Hatch	Roberts
Capito	Heller	Rounds
Cassidy	Hoeven	Rubio
Collins	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Corker	Inhofe	Scott
Cornyn	Isakson	Shelby
Cotton	Johnson	Sullivan
Crapo	Kennedy	Thune
Cruz	Lankford	Tillis
Daines	Lee	Toomey
Enzi	McConnell	Wicker
Ernst	Moran	Young
Fischer	Murkowski	

NAYS—49

Baldwin	Hassan	Peters
Bennet	Heinrich	Reed
Blumenthal	Heitkamp	Sanders
Booker	Hirono	Schatz
Brown	Jones	Schumer
Cantwell	Kaine	Shaheen
Cardin	King	Smith
Carper	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Casey	Leahy	Tester
Coons	Manchin	Udall
Cortez Masto	Markey	Van Hollen
Donnelly	McCaskill	Warner
Duckworth	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murphy	Wyden
Gillibrand	Murray	
Harris	Nelson	

NOT VOTING—1

McCain

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 50, the nays are 49. The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Ryan Wesley Bounds, of Oregon, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. RES. 572

Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 572; that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Oregon.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 3227

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, this moment hardly seems the time for the Senate to engage in debating rhetorical phrases of praise for the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency when that agency—better known as ICE—is deeply mired in the scandal of separating children from their parents. It is ICE that partnered with Border Patrol and Health and Human Services in this

diabolical situation. It is ICE that holds the parents in detention camps. It is ICE that has failed to arrange for the knowledge within the system of which parents go with which children. It is ICE that often has prevented individuals from having access to counsel, from being able to even phone their children, and charged them for using the phone.

In this situation, some 2,500-plus kids have been torn out of the arms of their parents, and this particular resolution would engage in nice phrases of praise instead of addressing itself to solving the problem.

We should right now be considering Senator HARRIS's act, the REUNITE Act, which would accelerate the reunification of the children, would ensure that family separation never happens again, would coordinate actions between ICE and the Border Patrol and Health and Human Services, and would set up a family case management system that worked, according to the IG of Homeland Security, to deliver 100 percent of the time when individuals had a date for a hearing—100 percent of the time.

That is why I ask my colleague to modify his request so that the Committee on the Judiciary, instead, be discharged from further consideration of S. 3227, the REUNITE Act, and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration; that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Montana so modify his request?

Mr. DAINES. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Is there objection to the original request?

The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. I strongly object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Montana.

Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, I live in a State—the State of Montana—that has a northern border. ICE agents keep our border secure, and I want to thank them for the very important work they are doing.

Far too many people are coming into our country illegally and putting the safety and security of American citizens at risk. In fact, in Montana, the effects of unsecured borders are very personal. All across our State, communities at this moment are torn apart by the meth and opioids that are trafficked through the southern border. In fact, just last year, ICE seized nearly 50 tons of narcotics, nearly a million pounds of heroin, fentanyl, and other deadly drugs that criminals and cartels are smuggling into our country.

At a time when America is suffering from a drug epidemic, how many more lives would be lost if ICE agents were not protecting our borders? How many

more innocent Americans would be harmed or murdered if we did not have ICE agents to arrest illegal immigrants with criminal convictions? These are the questions that those who call for the abolishment of ICE should be asking.

It is outrageous. It is irresponsible to call for abolishing one of our country's most critical security measures. Abolishing ICE would give terrorists, gang members, drug dealers, and other criminals a field day.

I stand for protecting American security. I stand for upholding the rule of law. That is why I stand with ICE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Ms. HIRONO. Mr. President, this resolution being offered by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle is a partisan political stunt to distract the American people from the crisis created by Donald Trump's zero tolerance policy.

Almost 3,000 children were ripped from the arms of their parents and traumatized by the President's cruelty.

Yesterday, the Senate Judiciary Committee had a closed-door briefing with officials from the Department of Justice, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Department of Homeland Security. The American people deserve to hear from these officials in public and under oath. All these officials provided at this briefing—not under oath—was more obstruction and obfuscation. The witness from Immigration and Customs Enforcement even claimed that they “did not mess up here.”

Separating almost 3,000 children from their parents, not meeting judicially set deadlines for reunifying these children—the trauma continues. Is there anybody in America paying attention to this issue who actually believes there was no mess-up?

We need a public hearing to hear from these officials under oath.

Donald Trump is weaponizing fear to pursue his anti-immigration agenda, and we are not going to be party to that. We should be focused like laser beams on reuniting the children with their parents.

Mr. DURBIN. Will the Senator from Hawaii yield?

Ms. HIRONO. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I would like to thank the Senator from Hawaii for joining in this statement about the agency of ICE, which is in the Department of Homeland Security.

There are certain things that I think Democrats and Republicans can come together to agree on. Let me tell you what I think they are. Border security—the United States needs security at its borders. There is no question about that, whoever the President may be.

The second thing we agree on is, nobody who is dangerous should be allowed to come to this country. Anyone

here who is undocumented and dangerous should leave, should be removed. We all agree on that, do we not?

The third thing, which 68 Senators agreed on, is comprehensive immigration reform. Our immigration laws are a mess—an absolute mess. That is why we continue to debate the topic, and 68 of us came to vote on a bipartisan measure 5 years ago to fix the whole system. It passed the Senate and died in the House.

Where are we today? We are here today debating on the floor the future of ICE. There are parts of the function and responsibility of this agency of ICE that all of us would agree on. ICE has important responsibilities combating serious criminal activities, like smuggling, bulk cash, drugs, weapons, human trafficking, violent criminals and others who would do us harm, and enforcing immigration laws against terrorists. There is no argument about that. But what has become controversial is the Trump administration's new immigration policy.

You see, we don't have the resources to deport 11 million undocumented people nor do we have the resources to arrest all who present themselves at the border. What this administration has done, though, is say that they are going to criminalize—charge as criminals—everyone who shows up at the border. By doing that, they take limited resources and focus them on a mass of people, most of whom are no threat at all to the United States, instead of focusing their resources on the drug smugglers, the traffickers, the would-be terrorists. Those are our priorities for the safety of our homes, our families, and our communities, are they not?

Here we have this resolution that was brought to the floor to commend ICE in all its functions. I can just tell you, I don't join in that resolution. I specifically don't join in it when it comes to the President's zero tolerance policy.

It became the policy of the Trump administration and the U.S. Government to forcibly remove 3,000 children from their parents. That is bad enough, is it not? The notion that you take a baby out of the arms of a mother—a toddler, an infant—separate a young child—we did it under President Trump's zero tolerance policy.

Now let me state what added insult to that injury. At that point, there was no effort made to make certain we could reunite the parents with the children. Time and again, we would meet downstairs for a briefing from ICE and other agencies, and they would tell us: We don't know where the parents are. We really don't know where the kids are. We are going to have to go looking.

Imagine separating up to 3,000 children from their parents, and the U.S. Government did not keep a record of what happened to those kids. Ship something by UPS—they give you a tracking number. Go online, and you

can track that package wherever it may be. Order a pizza from Domino's. Call them after 15 minutes and ask: Where is the pizza? They will tell you. Check your coat at a restaurant before you go to the table. When you come back and hand them that little piece of paper, they give you your coat. It is pretty simple, is it not? But when it came to children and families, this agency, ICE, along with other agencies of this government, lost them. In one agency in Chicago, they told me that the search for the parents of the little kids they had was like a scavenger hunt. They just started calling right and left to try to figure out where the parent might be.

Yesterday, we had a briefing, and finally these agencies came up with some numbers. There are 2,550 children still in our custody who are not reunited with their families; 1,800 parents we haven't linked up with their children. And we want to put a resolution on the floor to commend this activity—to praise them for their great work? Not me.

They do good work in a lot of important areas, and I will be happy to join in that chorus. But we stand here and ignore the obvious—that this zero tolerance policy has given our Nation a black eye, has raised questions about our values as Americans, has created situations we cannot morally defend, such as separating children from their mothers.

Do you know what the American Academy of Pediatrics tells us? The doctors tell us it is an institutional form of child abuse to remove these children.

I have seen them, these poor kids, 5 and 6 years old in these settings. The place I visited in Chicago was doing its best to help the children, but two little girls walked into the room where I was sitting. They were holding hands—cute little kids. It was my opportunity to meet about 10 or 12 kids who were separated from their parents under the zero tolerance policy.

These two little girls were holding hands, and I thought they were sisters. We asked in Spanish. “No, amigas,” she said. They had become friends to one another.

It turns out that the one who was 5 years old was from Guatemala and the one who was 6 years old was from Chiapas, Mexico. They were holding on to one another. All they had was one another because our government had separated them from their mothers.

Now this agency is struggling to find these mothers. In some circumstances, they cannot even link up the children with their parents.

No, I am not going to join in a resolution of congratulations for the work they have done. Many of the things they have done have been courageous and important for the security of this country, but when it comes to the zero tolerance policy, it is not.

I do want to make one last point. Listen to what the top agents at ICE's

Homeland Security Investigations agency, which focuses on serious transnational criminal activity, had to say. Last month, a majority of the agents focusing on transnational criminal activity wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, Kirstjen Nielsen, asking that Homeland Security Investigations be removed from ICE because of “the political nature of civil immigration enforcement.”

These are men and women who are focusing on serious crimes, and they asked to be removed from ICE. They are tired of the politics. I am weary of it as well.

We need to start solving these problems—border security, dangerous people kept out of this country and removed, comprehensive immigration reform. And for goodness' sake, reunite these children with their parents.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I rise in support of the brave men and women of our Immigration Customs Enforcement agency. These are law enforcement officers who risk their lives every day to keep this country safe.

Rising in support of law enforcement used to be a bipartisan issue. It used to be an issue that brought us together, that unified us. Sadly, as we have seen in the preceding minutes, that is no longer the case.

I rise today to urge my Democratic colleagues to say no to the reckless and radical voices within their party that are pulling their party so far out of the mainstream and so far out of touch with the American people that it is barely recognizable. For a long time, when Democrats were debating immigration issues, they used to say “Well, of course, we support enforcing the laws,” almost as an obligatory throw-away. Instead, we are here today, debating the abolishing of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, the exact antithesis of where most congressional Democrats claimed they were. All of this started because a few weeks ago, a longtime Democratic incumbent, a Member of the House, found himself beaten in a primary in New York State by an avowed socialist. As a result, many of my colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle are suddenly terrified of their left flank. Because her campaign focused on abolishing ICE—abolishing the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, more incumbent Democrats have said that they, too, are open to abolishing ICE.

I call on this body to pull back from the abyss. On immigration there are areas of good-faith disagreement that this body has debated and will continue to debate. I have long characterized my views on immigration as being able to be summed up in four words: legal, good; illegal, bad. I think the vast majority of Texans and the vast majority of Americans agree with that. There

are a host of immigration policies that ought to be commonsense bipartisan policies.

The Presiding Officer has shown great leadership in fighting against sanctuary cities, fighting against jurisdictions that defy Federal immigration law and that release violent criminals without being willing to turn them over to immigration officials. Those violent criminals, in turn, go on far too often to commit even more violent crimes.

I am the author of Kate's Law, a commonsense proposal which says that aggravated felons who repeatedly enter the country illegally should face a mandatory minimum prison sentence. It was named for Kate Steinle, a beautiful young woman, 28 years old, murdered on a California pier by an illegal immigrant who had been deported over and over and over again and had been in and out of jail over and over and over again and had multiple felony convictions. Yet, because San Francisco is a sanctuary city, they released him yet again, and he committed murder.

Kate Steinle would be alive if we could come together on Kate's Law, if we could come together on ending sanctuary cities. Yet it turns out that in today's hyperpolarized world, even that is not extreme enough for the modern Democratic Party. Multiple leaders of their party are advocating abolishing the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency.

What does ICE do? ICE men and women—I have met with a great many of them in my home State of Texas. I have met with a great many Border Patrol agents. I have joined them on their midnight muster. I have gone out on patrol with them as they risk their lives securing our border and risk their lives keeping us safe in the interior.

Criminal aliens arrested by ICE in fiscal year 2017 were responsible for more than 76,000 dangerous drug offenses; yet many Democrats are saying: Abolish their role. They were responsible for over 48,000 assault offenses. They were responsible for over 11,000 weapons offenses. They were responsible for over 5,000 sexual assault offenses. They were responsible for over 2,000 kidnapping offenses, and they were responsible for over 1,800 homicide offenses.

Yet the approach of the modern Democratic Party is not to find a reasonable, commonsense common ground. It is, instead, to say: Abolish the agency that has arrested criminals responsible for over 1,800 murders.

When it comes to drugs—the volume they are dealing with in fighting the narcotics traffickers—ICE in fiscal year 2017 seized more than 980,000 pounds of narcotics. ICE seized approximately 2,370 pounds of fentanyl, approximately 6,967 pounds of heroin. Yet, today, too many elected Democrats are afraid that they, too, might face a socialist primary and that their far left is so angry, hates President

Trump so much, that their position is not that we should enforce the immigration laws; their position is not that they will stand with law enforcement. Their position has become to abolish the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, the agency charged with enforcing our immigration laws.

This is not a reasonable position and a public policy debate upon which reasonable minds might differ. There are many of those in the immigration world. This is not one of them. This is a radical and reckless position.

Yet, this resolution—by the way, this resolution says not a word about the issue of family separation. We have heard some of the speeches from my Democratic colleagues focused on family separation. I can state that every Member of this body, Democrat and Republican, agrees that families should not be separated.

Indeed, I have introduced legislation to prohibit family separation, to ensure that children stay with their parents—the best place for a kid is with his or her mom or dad—but to do so in a way that also respects the rule of law, that doesn't return to the failed policy of catch-and-release that only encourages more and more illegal immigration, that only puts more and more children—little boys and girls—in a position of being physically and sexually assaulted by human traffickers.

No one who cares about humanity, no one who cares about compassion should want to incentivize putting little children in the control of global, transnational drug cartels and human traffickers.

For the past several weeks, I have been negotiating with Democratic Members of this body, trying to see if we could reach common ground to unite and say that we will not separate families, but at the same time, we will respect the rule of law and not return to catch-and-release in a way that incentivizes illegal immigration.

We will find out if any Democrats are willing to find common ground. All 100 could join together on ending family release and ending it today, but too many on the Democratic side want to condition ending family release on essentially mandating the release of every illegal alien in custody—those apprehended with children, mandating their release. That is not a reasonable position. That is not a position the American people support, and, critically, this resolution before the Senate says not a word about it.

This resolution does not address that question. Instead, this resolution says that those ICE agents—the ICE agents who right now may be kicking down the door on a meth house and facing violent drug lords, firing weapons at them, risking their lives to keep us safe—we stand with those law enforcement agencies, even if we may disagree on the parameters of illegal immigration.

I am one who believes we should welcome and embrace legal immigrants—

those who follow the rules and wait in line like my father in 1957, when he came as an immigrant from Cuba seeking freedom. Those are debates we can have.

We ought to be coming together in the spirit of bipartisan agreement to stand with law enforcement. I call upon the responsible members of the Democratic Party—and, surely, there must be some left. Surely, in the Democratic Party, there are some voices that are willing to stand up to the reckless and radical left and say: No, we should not abolish the agency charged with enforcing our immigration laws, charged with protecting us from vicious and violent criminals.

The fact that Senate Democrats are today objecting to this resolution shows just how captive they are to the fury that rages against President Trump.

Everyone in this Chamber has, at one time or another, had something the President has said or done that we all disagreed with. That is part of the political process, but the rage and fury on the far left is a qualitatively different matter. It is a rage that is demanding Democrats to go after, to undercut, to attack law enforcement agents who keep us safe. That is a mistake. It is a disservice to this institution. It is a disservice to the legacy of many distinguished Senators and a disservice to the American people and the Constitution that we are sworn to protect.

I urge this body to pass this commonsense resolution, standing with law enforcement, enforcing our borders, and stopping violent criminals, murderers, kidnappers, and rapists that ICE arrests every year. Abolishing law enforcement puts all of us at peril. I call upon my Democratic colleagues to reject that radical and reckless position.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, this Senator came to talk about trade, and I am going to do that, but I think what we have is an example of extremes in politics that is on display before us.

I think, on the one hand, political points are trying to be scored about the abolition of certain law enforcement organizations. On the other hand, there are the political points that a government, especially our government, should not have a policy of separating children from their parents, unless the parents have committed a crime and need to be incarcerated for the purpose of that crime.

Here we have the extremes again going to either side, when, in fact, if there were good will, if there were not such a highly polarized, highly charged, partisan atmosphere, in part, as we say in the South, egged on by various Members of the leadership in the Congress as well as the Executive—if we didn't have all of that, we could get a lot more done.

The genius of American politics is for us to be able to come together, to respect each other, to understand the

other fellow's point of view, and then work out our differences.

It is the same thing on the international stage. That is why we see it is so difficult to reach international agreements when people have gotten hardened into positions because of race or religion or political balance.

So if you note a tone of sadness in this Senator's voice, then you are correct because, again, we are seeing the polarization of American politics.

Why can't we have a law enforcement organization that also doesn't have to operate under a policy of separating children from their parents? That is the commonsense point of view, but, no, we devolve into these extremes.

TARIFFS

Mr. President, I came to talk about trade.

Is the United States taken advantage of by other countries? You bet and especially China. We have been letting them get away with it for years, but you don't try to correct that situation by suddenly saying, I am going to impose a tariff, as the President has, on imported steel and aluminum: 25 percent on steel and 10 percent on aluminum.

What happens then is, for the people who use those products in manufacturing, whatever their business is, that is going to cause the cost of those goods to go up. The consumers are going to be the ones who get hurt. By the way, what that is going to do, again, is the extreme. If you do this, the person who is offended is going to do this and do it more.

That is exactly what is happening in this trade war that is suddenly starting to hurt all of us. In reaction to steel and aluminum tariffs that the United States has imposed, good friends of ours, major trading partners of ours—I am keeping China in a different category. I am talking about the European Union; I am talking about Canada, one of our closest friends; and I am talking about Mexico. In retaliation for what we are doing to them, they are now retaliating and putting tariffs on other goods. They are putting tariffs on everything, not only for steel and aluminum but from washing machines to lobster, whiskey, and cheese.

We are starting to see the consequences of these moves. People are starting to hurt. This Senator has heard from many businesses in his State that are starting to get hurt. In Florida, we are seeing the harmful effects of these tariffs. Mind you, it is not just the Budweiser Brewery that I visited several months ago in Jacksonville that produces 3.3 billion aluminum cans a year. Of course, the cost of those cans are going to go up, and it is going to be the consumer who pays, but it is going to affect others in the restaurant industry, the medical device industry, the marine manufacturing industry, and the auto parts industry.

Let me tell you about the cost of these auto parts that we have to im-

port and those made here domestically. Because of the increased costs of steel or aluminum, the cost of those parts are going up. Maybe the dealer that services your car and replaces parts is one thing, but what about the individual entrepreneur, like the auto mechanic shop that has to buy its parts that all of a sudden has to charge more? The big guys that deal in many more automobile repairs can spread that cost over a lot of people, but that poor individual auto mechanic shop is getting hurt. It is happening right now, and they are losing business.

Take, for example, the marine manufacturing industry. Manufacturing boats is a big industry in Florida. It is worth \$121 billion a year in Florida, which is 650,000 jobs in Florida and tens of thousands of downstream jobs in Florida and nationwide. The industry in our State alone provides over \$10 billion in annual economic activity. All of those businesses are really getting hurt because the European Union, Canada, and Mexico—three big export markets for the boat manufacturers—are getting orders cut because of the retaliatory tariffs of 25 percent from the European Union. They are not going to sell any more boats to European customers if they have to pay an extra 25 percent. They will go elsewhere where they can get it cheap, and that means 10 percent extra costs in Canada; 15 percent in Mexico.

What is that going to do? There are jobs in that boat manufacturing industry that will go away. They are brands that you might recognize like Nautique, Bryant, and Bass Cat. They are all brands of one company, Correct Craft, that I visited in Orlando this week. They manufacture boats and engines in factories across the country, with their headquarters in Orlando.

The President's tariffs have increased the production costs considerably because of the cost of aluminum and steel that goes into those boats. To add insult to the already existing injury, they are being hit with these retaliatory tariffs from other countries where they sell their goods.

There is no sugarcoating it. We are in the midst of a full-blown trade war. If this thing gets out of control, it can take us into an economic recession like the Smoot-Hawley tariffs did in the recession that led to what is known as the Great Depression. If we continue down this path without an exit strategy, we are going to regret it.

Already, our boat manufacturers in Florida have lost tens of millions of dollars in canceled orders. Regal Marine Industries had \$4 million worth of orders fall through. The company estimates it will lose \$13 million this year because of these tariffs, and that will wind up costing people their jobs. It is no small thing.

This is what happens when you get excessively extreme, when you get partisan, when you act like you know it all, when you improvise your way through a complicated world and don't

have a well-thought-out plan of how to get out of this mess. Again, with bipartisan consensus, it is the nature of the politics that we have to rein in.

There is also the story of Micro Stamping, which is the sole supplier of high-grade surgical equipment. That equipment is used in the treatment of breast cancer. Micro Stamping is contemplating shutting down because the President's trade moves are stopping it from getting the specific type of steel it needs to manufacture the equipment.

What about Hale Products? It is up in Ocala. It is also being crushed by the tariffs. It makes fire suppression equipment. Since the cost of the tariffs is passed down to the end consumer, it says the tariffs will make it harder for municipal fire departments—that are already facing stiff budget constraints—to buy the new, lighter weight lifesaving firefighting equipment. This will have repercussions beyond the company's immediate business needs.

It is worth noting that what is going on is doing lasting damage to our strategic alliances. The U.S. Government—this executive branch—is treating our friends like enemies and is giving comfort to our adversaries. This is no way to run a country. We should be working with our allies to address our global challenges. We ought to be advancing our shared interests, not just in trade but in national security and a range of things.

Before we escalate these things and they get out of hand, we need to think a little bit more about what we are doing, why we are doing it, and if we are doing it the right way. This Senator is saying we are not doing it the right way. What we are doing is sending a message that America is closed for business. I don't think that is what we want to do.

I urge my colleagues to join this Senator in shining the light of day on the hard truth of what happens when you go along and make things up without having a clear plan for success, which is exactly what this trade war right now is a product of. That kind of approach doesn't work for the USA; it doesn't work for Florida; and it doesn't work for the vast majority of hard-working everyday Americans. I think it is time to come to our senses.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. GARDNER). The Senator from Missouri. COMMEMORATING THE NEGRO NATIONAL LEAGUE

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, last night, the Major League Baseball All-Star Game was hosted in Washington. In conjunction with that game, the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum hosted an event to honor the Homestead Grays, which was one of the teams from that league. There were great teams in that league. The Homestead Grays had won the Negro League World Series in 1943, which was 75 years ago. They had a great exhibit here in town about that team and about the history of that league.

The museum, which was founded in 1990, is located in Kansas City, MO. It is dedicated to highlighting and preserving that important part of our sports history—the history of African-American baseball. Bob Kendrick runs that museum, and it is a museum I would encourage all of my colleagues to visit as the All-Star Game was in Kansas City a few years ago, and it was one of the venues for Major League Baseball.

When people are in Kansas City, playing the Royals, managers and coaches often take their players there—players who haven't been there before and players who want to go back—just for them to have a sense of what it was like when there was the segregation of baseball and also some of the great players who played there. The chairman of the board, Stewart Myers, was here yesterday, and the vice chairman, Adam Sachs, was here yesterday.

The museum is actually expanding and building the Buck O'Neil Research and Education Center on the Paseo in Kansas City. Buck O'Neil was a great Kansas Citian, but he had also been a great part of Negro Leagues Baseball. In June of this year, vandals broke into the YMCA, on which a lot of money had already been spent. It was where that part of the museum, the research center, was going to be housed. The vandals did more damage than they should have been able to do, and, unfortunately, there was some water damage in the building. Yet that effort continues.

The Negro National League was created there in 1920 at that Paseo YMCA. There was an owners meeting, and the owners decided, It is time we really put more of a structure into this league. So they established a league. Before 1920, these African-American teams barnstormed around the country and played whomever they could play. After 1920, they could still barnstorm, but there was a league, there was a league championship, and there was a structure they had not had before.

In 1947, as every baseball fan knows, the Brooklyn Dodgers decided to integrate baseball, and Jackie Robinson, who had played for the Kansas City Monarchs, was the first player to step into that challenge of integrated baseball. The league lasted another 13 years or so. I think the last team finally folded in the early 1960s.

Some of the greatest baseball and the most exciting baseball ever played was played in this particular league—names like Satchel Paige, who said about himself that he was so fast he could turn off the light in the bedroom and be in bed before it got dark. He was a great pitcher, and he was a great runner. Buck O'Neil, Satchel Paige, Cool Papa Bell, Jackie Robinson, and 100 other names in that last 3 years of the 1940s who joined the Major Leagues are all part of that story.

Missouri teams were an important part of that story. The Monarchs

played for 37 seasons, and I already mentioned that Jackie Robinson played briefly for the Monarchs before he went to the Dodgers. They won a dozen league championships. They sent more players than any other team to the Major Leagues. The St. Louis Stars, who were on the other side of our State—originally the St. Louis Giants—played 12 seasons. They won the league championship in 1928, in 1930, and in 1931.

The real focus of the exhibit here this week was on the Homestead Grays. Now, where did the Homestead Grays come from? I think I already mentioned they were celebrating the 75th anniversary of winning the Negro League World Series in 1943. The Homestead Grays were originally based in Homestead, PA, just outside of Pittsburgh.

In 1940, in 1941, and in 1942, they played at least half of their games here in Washington. When the Washington Senators were traveling, the ballpark would be available, and the Homestead Grays would play games there. By 1943, they were playing about two-thirds of their games in Washington and generally had more people at their games than the Washington Senators had at their games. They won nine consecutive league pennants from 1937 through 1945.

There was even an effort, when the Nationals team was brought here, to call the Nationals the Washington Grays because of that tremendous team that had played here. The team owners chose the Nationals because it was one of the Washington Senators' official nicknames. That is an important part of our history right there, and we are going to be celebrating the 100th anniversary of that league in 2020.

I and Congressman CLEAVER, who is on the other side of this building, are looking at ways to draw more attention to this great part of our story. It is sad because of the segregated elements of it, but it is a great story because of the entrepreneurship and the sportsmanship and the competitive nature of that league.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BLUNT. I can tell the Senator is interested. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. NELSON. Indeed, this Senator is interested. Would you believe that a lot of those retired players who are still living happen to live in Florida?

Mr. BLUNT. Right.

Mr. NELSON. Further, as the Senator correctly pointed out, once Jackie Robinson was able to break into the majors in 1947, it would be another 11 years—1958—before the last team in the Major Leagues integrated. Would you believe, for all of that period of time, these great baseball players who have contributed so much had no pensions?

Further, it was years later in this Senate—in the last decade—that, finally, the Commissioner of Baseball was brought in front of the Commerce Committee in order to face the music

about the fact that the retired players who had not played in Major League Baseball but in the old Negro leagues in America—because they couldn't get into Major League Baseball, even while the rest of the teams were being integrated, which took 11 years—had no pensions. Would you believe that Major League Baseball, through Bud Selig, finally agreed to give them onetime pension payments?

This Senator is so grateful because that has helped so many of the residents in my State who are these great players. Senator BLUNT has so accurately described their considerable talents on the baseball field.

Mr. BLUNT. I think that is an important part of the history.

There were a couple of players there last night who had played in the league, and of course there are fewer of those players all the time. I have had a chance, as you have had, to meet and talk to them over the years—to talk about the excitement of that kind of baseball and their ability to entertain both with their sportsmanship as well as just with their talent as sportsmen.

I think it was a great league, and it is a great story. I don't know if the Senator has had a chance to go to the museum in Kansas City, but as a guy who knew those players and appreciates what that league was all about, I would certainly love to go there with the Senator sometime.

Mr. NELSON. If the Senator will yield, as a matter of fact, I am looking forward to seeing that museum.

It was one of the Senator's players on the Kansas City Monarchs—"Peach-Head" Bob Mitchell, retired, who was living in my State—who brought to the attention of his Senator the inequity that had occurred in their never getting pensions, even though they were certainly capable of getting into Major League Baseball but, because of segregation, could not.

Mr. BLUNT. I am looking forward, along with others, to celebrating that century of history. It is an important part of the story to be told, and I am glad the Senator has helped add to it here today.

OPIOID EPIDEMIC

Mr. President, I also want to talk for a few minutes about the importance of getting the appropriations bills to the Senate floor, and I want to do that by talking about the opioid epidemic.

Our annual opportunity to look at that is legislative—legislative in terms of deciding how to spend money as we try to deal with this epidemic that claims more lives than any other single accidental cause of death. For a long time, car accidents predominated that list, but in virtually every State in the country, more people die now from drug overdoses than die from car accidents.

There are people of every age, such as the high school cheerleader in my hometown of Springfield, MO, who hurt her leg and got medicine for that leg injury. I think it was after 3 years of

struggling with addiction that her mother found her dead in the bedroom from an overdose.

Every age, every race—there are stories of incredibly successful people who received from the doctor or the dentist more pain medicine than they needed. It is not because that is what the doctor or the dentist intended to do. Doctors and dentists in the 1970s and 1980s were told: This is nonaddictive. There is no reason for people to have pain.

People could take these opioid-based painkillers and not have pain. That part was true. The part that wasn't true was the nonaddictive part. And the part that wasn't true was what you would do when the doctor was no longer giving you that medicine or you could no longer act like you were getting the medicine because of pain when, by then, you were getting it for some other reason.

The appropriations bill that our committee has voted out and that we are eager to get to the floor includes \$3.7 billion targeting the opioid epidemic. It is a 1,300-percent increase over where we were 4 years ago. Congress has become more aware of not only how widespread the epidemic is but also the incredible human cost of the epidemic.

The bill includes almost half of that money, \$1.5 billion, for State opioid response grants. One reason we are doing this with grants is we really don't know all of the options yet, and we haven't been able to evaluate the best ways to deal with this. We do feel in our committee and in Congress that it is unlikely that the best way to deal with this in one place is necessarily the best way to deal with it in other places.

My State of Missouri received \$10 million last year. We will receive \$28 million this year if this grant funding is approved, and other States will go up proportionately, exactly as we did.

What did we do with that money in our State of Missouri to see how we could deal with this epidemic? More than 1,700 people have received evidence-based medical treatment for opioid-use disorder; 1,700 people in the last 12 months or so have received that. More than 4,300 kits of naloxone, which is what you take when you overdose, have been distributed. That is less effective sometimes than it used to be because of fentanyl, and people don't have any idea, when they are trying to help you with what you put into your system—and you don't either—so, occasionally, you will get that shot to relieve you from the overdose and think that has helped, and then suddenly what you have put into your system overwhelms even that normal cure if you get it on time. “Cure” might be the wrong word because all it does is save you that one time.

Around 4,000 people have received training on what to do in the event of an overdose. About 10,000 people have received training in our State on topics from treatment to prevention to recovery.

For a State like ours, the rate of opioid deaths has increased; opioid overdose deaths have more than quadrupled in the past 15 years. That would not be an unusual number for States to see.

Senator CAPITO from West Virginia and I were here on the floor talking about this earlier this year. This is not necessarily an urban problem. In fact, in most cases, it is more of a rural problem per capita than an urban problem per capita. We have set aside money targeted for those rural communities. There is \$135 million set aside for rural communities based on different things that appear to be needed more in rural communities than in any other communities.

A couple of hundred million dollars goes into community health centers to support people who have behavioral health concerns and mental health concerns. If you don't have a mental health problem before you get addicted to opioids, you have one once you have gotten addicted to opioids. So those funds go there to try to deal with that.

Senator STABENOW and I introduced a bill a few years ago, the Excellence in Mental Health Act, and eight of our States now have a situation where they are treating, in that eight-State pilot, behavioral health problems like all other health problems. That particularly steps up if someone with an opioid addiction problem has a behavioral health problem they wouldn't have had otherwise. And there is no limit. Just as there would be no limit if you had kidney dialysis, there is also no limit in those eight States for your behavioral health problems. There is no limit where, if you haven't whipped this in 28 days, you are going to have to deal with this as a unique problem. Dealing with mental health and behavioral health in the same way matters in all cases, but it particularly seems to apply as people try to beat addiction.

The Department of Labor and Health and Human Services bill includes \$60 million for child abuse prevention and treatment programs to support what happens in families when someone in that family gets into a situation of abuse.

The number of people who become addicted needs to change, but also how we deal with pain needs to change. So there is some unique money available to the National Institutes of Health to try to develop a pain medicine that is nonaddictive; \$500 million went toward that effort.

In all of these cases, we feel as though we have produced a good bill out of our committee. It has about one-third of the money in it after defense is taken off the table. It is a big bill that covers a large jurisdiction.

Everyone in the Senate deserves a chance to be part of this debate. Everyone in the Senate deserves to look at how the appropriators—I think it was 33 to 1 that they voted for this bill—have decided to spend the money. It

may be the way everyone decides to spend the money, but everyone ought to have a chance on this floor to say “No, I think this money would be better spent here and here, better spent this way and that way.” Every single Senator ought to be able to be part of that discussion.

If we continue this process that we have been in for a few years—one big bill that nobody ever gets to vote on—that means the Senators who aren't on the Appropriations Committee will not have a say in establishing our national priorities. It is time to do that.

These bills are all out of committee and have been for almost a month now. We have had three of them on the floor already. I think we plan to have four of them on the floor next week, and maybe Defense, Labor, and HHS not too long after that.

These are big issues that every Senator should have a say in, and the only way that will happen is if these issues are decided right here on the floor. Hopefully we will set some records, at least, of having these bills on the floor and debated.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. TOOMEY. Mr. President, I want to reflect on some of the data that has been coming in on our economy in response to our tax reform and deregulatory push.

Before I do, I want to commend my colleague from Missouri and thank him for his leadership and work on the incredible crisis of opioids we are dealing with. It is not a uniformly national crisis; it is more concentrated regionally, and my State of Pennsylvania is affected as badly as any place in the country.

I am pleased we have been able to take a number of constructive measures, but we have a lot of work yet to do as we try to deal with this scourge. I want to thank him for that.

TAX REFORM

Mr. President, on tax reform, before I get into some of the macro and statistics that are really, really incredibly encouraging, I just want to touch on a couple of constituent companies and their employees and how our tax reform is affecting them.

One is a company called Glass & Sons Collision Repair. They are located in Reading, PA, which is in the eastern part of our State. They recently announced that they will be paying \$1,000 tax reform bonuses to all of their employees—\$1,000. This is a small business. It is a father-and-son business. The owners, Charles and Trevor Glass, made the decision to pay the bonuses right after they met with their accountants and learned how much they are going to save as a result of tax reform. The first thing they did is say: We are going to share this with our employees. It is a terrific development for everyone involved.

There is another company on the other side of the State, in Somerset,

the southwestern part of the State. It is a company called Guy Chemical. They recently announced that not only are they increasing wages and bonuses, but they are also making all new investments, including buying a new forklift, updated computer equipment, new software, and they are building a new lab for research and development that will be five times the size of their old lab. They are doing this because of tax reform and the confidence they have in the economic growth that is occurring in this reformed environment.

It is not only individuals who work for companies that have been able to pay higher wages and bonuses who benefit from tax reform; it is just about everyone. About 93 percent of all of the folks I represent and all of the folks we all represent—when they file their tax return for this year's income, they are going to pay less in Federal income taxes.

According to the Tax Foundation, the direct savings for a Pennsylvania family with an income in the \$50,000 to \$70,000 range—it will be about \$1,400 in savings.

In addition to the direct savings from a lower Federal tax bill, because of the savings that Pennsylvania utilities have on their Federal tax bill, they are required to pass that on to their customers, and that is exactly what they are doing. So far it is a combined \$320 million in annual savings to Pennsylvania consumers in the form of lower utility bills as a result of our tax reform.

There is no question that there are tremendous, direct personal and individual benefits across the board. Related to that is the fact that the economy is just taking off. The economy has been on fire. This year it has been tremendous.

Nothing reflects the strong economic data better than the employment picture. It is fair to say that the employment picture in America may never have been this good. I know that is making a very bold statement, but stay with me here as we go through some of this data.

In the month of May, we had the lowest unemployment rate since 2000—the lowest unemployment rate in 18 years. The African-American unemployment rate hit an all-time record low. It has never been measured as low as it was in May, at 5.9 percent. Likewise, the Hispanic unemployment rate hit an all-time record low, at 4.6 percent in June. Small business optimism was at the second highest level on record ever, this past month of May.

Dividends paid from overseas subsidiaries of U.S. multinationals, dividends paid back home—money that is sitting overseas and invested back in America—reached an all-time record high in the first quarter because we changed the rules to diminish the penalties we used to have when an American company brought income that was earned overseas back home.

Well, one of the things we wanted to have happen as a result of our tax reform was that we wanted to see more capital expenditures—more companies putting money to work buying plants, plant equipment, technology, and tools. Guess what. For the first quarter of this year, there was tremendous growth in capital expenditures by American businesses. It is up over 7 percent, well above even the ambitious estimate that came out from the Congressional Budget Office late last year.

I think one of the most amazing statistics about this whole employment picture is what happened in March. We saw that in the month of March—again, the first time ever that I am aware of—the number of job openings in America, meaning the number of available jobs that need to be filled, was greater than the number of people looking for jobs. Think about that. There are more jobs available in America than there are people looking for jobs in America. That is terrific for people who need work. The jobs are out there.

The National Federation of Independent Business, which is America's largest network of small businesses, were surveyed in June. Sixty-three percent—almost two-thirds—of these small business owners reported that they were hiring or trying to hire. That is the highest level we have seen since 1999. And 87 percent of those who are trying to hire, or are actually hiring people, are concerned that there are just too few people out there available to be hired.

So, in a way, the economy is growing so robustly and the job opportunities are expanding so quickly that we have a shortage of workers. We have too few people available to meet the demand for all of these jobs. It is the right problem to have.

So what happens as a result of that? It is exactly what we predicted. People who have decided to leave the workforce, to give up on work—people who are of working age and are healthy but decided, for whatever reason, not to work—are coming back into the workforce. They are coming back in big numbers. In the month of June, over 600,000 Americans who had worked in the past but then had stepped out of the workforce for whatever reason came back into the workforce. The biggest proportion of these folks are people who have never gone to college, but they have a renewed confidence and optimism about the economy. They have confidence in opportunities available to them, despite the fact that they don't have a college income. They have decided that they are going to reenter the workforce and, in the process, start to improve their standard of living.

By the way, the labor force participation rate rose really across, I think, all ethnic groups, including women, men, African Americans, and Hispanics. It is up across the board.

So far this year, over 1 million workers who had left the workforce are back

in it. That compares to about half a million workers in the first half of last year and about 600,000 in 2016. So there was a big surge in the number of workers coming back into the workforce, and they are finding jobs. It has improved our overall population, our overall percentage of working-age people who are, in fact, working. As I say, it is across all demographic groups and contributing enormously, first and foremost, to improving the quality of their lives and their family's lives but also our overall economic growth.

What else did we get from the June jobs report? In June—in the month of June alone—there were 213,000 jobs added. That is a very, very rapid pace. Oh, by the way, these numbers are always provided subsequently. So in June we got the revision for April and May, months that had good job growth. It turns out that it was even better than we thought. All together, there were 37,000 more jobs when we revised the April and May numbers than we had originally figured.

There was a modest uptick in the unemployment rate, but don't be fooled by that. That is because with so many additional people entering the workforce, we are counting far more people now in how we determine that.

One of the truly exciting things about this is that for many, many years, we have had stagnant wages. Wages just weren't rising very rapidly. It is because productivity wasn't growing. That, I think, was being driven by the fact that there wasn't considerable growth in capital expenditures. Now that we have changed that dynamic and capital expenditure is growing, productivity is growing and wages are starting to grow. I am not satisfied with the growth yet, but it is very encouraging that the direction is positive.

Based on the employment cost index, wages grew about 2.9 percent in the first quarter. That is the fastest pace in a decade—the fastest pace in 10 years. Average hourly earnings for nonmanagers rose at their fastest pace in 9 years.

In June, interestingly, pay for workers who switched jobs rose at 3.8 percent, which is a clear indication that employers are forced to bid up wages because they need to hire workers, and they are having trouble finding the workers.

This whole dynamic is very, very encouraging. It means wages are growing and are likely to grow more.

I should also point out that there is a feature in the arithmetic that suggests that it could mask the extent to which wages are growing. What I am referring to is when I say that average wages are growing by 2.7 percent. That is true, but let's keep in mind that when we get a surge of new people into the workforce, most of those people are coming in at the lower end of the wage spectrum. Maybe it is their first job or maybe they have been out of work for a long time, or maybe, as I pointed out,

they don't have the same level of education and skills of people already in the workforce. So they are starting at a lower-than-average wage. So all else being equal, that would tend to bring the average down. So despite that, when you have growth, that tells us that people who have been continuously employed are getting an even bigger growth in their wages.

So this is very, very encouraging. I think it is likely to continue. It is exactly what we were hoping would happen as a result of our tax reform.

But there is another whole development that is not directly about wages, but when you think about it, it makes a lot of sense. With all of these people finding work, with all of these opportunities for work and people coming back into the workforce, guess what. There is a reduction in dependency on government programs because people are able to earn the income to support their families.

So, for instance, in the 4-week average of unemployment benefits claims, one of the things we monitor closely, the number of people who are collecting unemployment hit a 45-year low of 213,000 in May—45 years. You have to go back 45 years to find so few people who required unemployment for an extended period of time. It is really amazing, when we consider how much bigger a country we are today, that we have gotten down to a number that was matched only 45 years ago—amazing.

We can look at the disability benefits. According to the Social Security Administration, fewer Americans applied for disability benefits last year than at any time since 2002, 16 years since we have had a number this low.

We can also look at the food stamp program. Two million people have come off of food stamps because they are working and they are earning enough that they either don't need it or they don't qualify anymore.

So these are very, very encouraging trends. As I say, because the driver is a new set of incentives that is encouraging capital expenditure and, therefore, productivity growth, I think this is really likely to continue.

The macro GDP numbers reflect this as well. The Congressional Budget Office last year estimated that growth for 2018 would be about 2 percent. As a result of tax reform, they revised that up to 3.3 percent.

As for estimates for the second quarter—the quarter that just ended—we don't have the numbers yet. It is still a couple of weeks away, but the estimates are that growth was probably equal, maybe even more than 4 percent.

So we have had tremendous growth. We already had a great first quarter relative to other first quarters, and the second quarter is probably very, very big.

All of this, of course, means that if this growth is sustained, which I think it is likely to be, not only will we continue to have good employment numbers like we have had, but we are also going to have good budget numbers.

The Federal Government budget is driven more than anything else by how strong our economy is and how many people are working. Everybody working is paying taxes. Every company that is making money is paying taxes. So revenue coming into the Federal Government is likely to be very strong.

So I am very optimistic. I think it is very clear that the combination of pushing back on excessive regulation and a tremendously pro-growth tax reform has led to this growth.

I should warn that I think there is a bit of a cloud on the horizon. I hope it doesn't develop into a big storm. Right now it is just a cloud, but that cloud is trade policy that could really start to hinder economic growth.

It is interesting. We had testimony at the Banking Committee just yesterday from Fed Chairman Powell. I pointed out that the minutes for the June meeting of the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee had a disturbing reference. I will quote briefly: The FOMC minutes for June stated: "Some Districts indicated"—they refer to the various districts around the country—"that plans for capital spending had been scaled back or postponed as a result of uncertainty over trade policy."

That is a warning. That is a warning to us. If we spiral down into a full-blown trade war—and we certainly have a lot of skirmishes going on—and if this spirals out of control, business will start to pull back. They will lose the confidence they have had, and that could lead to diminished capital expenditures, which will start to really diminish the tremendous growth that we have seen.

So far for this year the economic picture has been extremely encouraging. Benefits are very broad-based. Economic growth is broad and strong. There are employment numbers that we haven't seen in decades. I believe this can continue. It is much more likely to continue if we avoid a damaging trade war.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I am grateful today to be joined by Senator KING, from the great State of Maine, to speak about the troubling changes that we are seeing in the oceans and how climate change is reshaping our States' fisheries.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations recognizes that "climate change imperils the structure and function of already stressed coastal aquatic ecosystems." For the record, Maine and Rhode Island are indeed aquatic.

The oceans have absorbed approximately 30 percent of the excess carbon dioxide that we have pumped into the atmosphere since the Industrial Revolution began. That is changing the ocean's chemistry. The oceans have also absorbed roughly 90 percent of the

excess heat trapped in the atmosphere by those greenhouse gases. As a result of that excess carbon dioxide and that excess heat, our oceans are warming, and they are rising. They are losing oxygen, and they are growing more acidic. This puts marine life, coastal communities, and the global ocean economy all in jeopardy.

Commercial fishing is an important economy in the United States, and both Maine and Rhode Island celebrate our longstanding fishing traditions. According to the National Marine Fisheries Service, over 9.6 billion pounds of wild seafood, valued at \$5.3 billion, was commercially landed in the United States in 2016.

Across New England, American lobster was our most valuable fishery. We had lobstermen bringing around \$663 million—two-thirds of \$1 billion—worth of lobster to shore. Sadly, Rhode Island's lobster fishery is badly knocked down by warming ocean waters. NOAA notes: "The lobster industry in New York and southern New England has nearly collapsed." Maine dominated the catch, bringing in nearly 85 percent of the lobster landed in the region.

According to NOAA, from "1994 to 2014, Maine's landings surged 219 percent to more than 124 million pounds." The lobster population is shifting north, away from Rhode Island, New York, and Connecticut, as waters warm, leaving Rhode Island and other southern New England lobster traps empty. But Mainers are taking notice, too, as warming waters are driving lobster even farther north along their rocky coast. A recent study of 700 North American marine species predicted that lobster populations could move 200 miles northward by the end of the century as waters continue to warm. Senator KING can report what 200 miles does to the coast of Maine.

Lobster is not the only fishery feeling the heat in New England. A 2017 study of global warming found that the greater Northeast region is anticipated to warm faster than other regions of the world. According to the "Climate Science Special Report," a Federal report that will form the scientific basis of the Fourth National Climate Assessment, "the Northeast has warmed faster than 99% of the global ocean since 2004." We have a global ocean hotspot off our coast. The Northeast is also expected to see higher than global average sea level rise, putting our ports, fishing docks, and coastal infrastructure all at risk.

Fishermen have noticed. They are keenly aware of the myriad ways climate change is altering the waters that generations of their families have fished, and they see the difference. Fishermen in Rhode Island have told me: "Sheldon, things are getting weird out there."

"Sheldon, it's not my grandfather's ocean."

They share anecdotes of catching increasing numbers of tropical fish early in the summer season and seeing fish

that rarely frequented Rhode Island waters until recent years. As new fish move in and traditional fish move out, fishermen are left with more questions than answers.

In Southern New England, black sea bass has become the poster fish for shifting stocks. As we can see in this graphic, the 1970s had a hub of black sea bass here, with this as the center and then a slight reach upward but basically off the mid-Atlantic coast. This is 2014. The center of activity has moved up closer to Rhode Island. We are right here. Of course, black sea bass populations in our region have increased concomitantly.

This commercially valuable fish, the black sea bass, can help Rhode Island fishermen replace traditional species that are growing more scarce, like winter flounder—the fish my wife studied for her graduate work—which has crashed as winters warm.

The current fisheries' management structure, however, forces Rhode Island fishermen to toss the increasingly abundant and valuable black sea bass overboard. NOAA scientists saw this northward transit of the sea bass coming years ago, but regulatory catch limits did not keep up. They are generally based on historical catches. And States are hesitant to give up quota even after the fish have moved northward and left their shores, so State-specific quotas badly lag the changing distribution of the fish.

A former Mid-Atlantic Fishery Management Council scientist acknowledged that fish like summer flounder are moving north and told NPR that "some of the Southern states are having trouble catching their quota, and states to the north have more availability of fish."

Dave Monti is a friend who is a charter boat captain out of Wickford Harbor in North Kingstown, RI. Dave said:

There's no doubt the waters have warmed and black sea bass have moved in. The quotas haven't done a good enough job at figuring in climate change yet.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Providence Journal describing the changes that Captain Monti sees and our local efforts to deal with these changes.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Providence Journal]

FRONT LINE OF CLIMATE CHANGE: BLACK SEA BASS SURGE OFF R.I.

(By Alex Kuffner)

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—Scientists tell us that some fish will be winners and others losers as oceans warm.

In Rhode Island, count lobster, silver hake and winter flounder among the losers, their numbers plummeting as climate change drives water temperatures higher. On the list of winners so far are squid, summer flounder, butterfish.

And black sea bass. The population of the dusky-colored fish with striking blue accents has historically been strongest off the mid-Atlantic Coast, but over the past decade or

so its numbers have spiked off New England and it is becoming a more important catch for the region's fishermen.

In a telling sign of black sea bass's surge in Rhode Island, the state Department of Environmental Management last month loosened regulations governing the recreational fishery for the species, extending the season by 31 days and increasing the fall possession limit to seven fish per person per day, from five.

It may appear to be a small development, but the rules change resulted from a heated debate among state and federal regulators about how best to manage a species whose distribution and abundance has gone through a striking shift that few would have imagined a generation ago.

The back-and-forth over the fish also signals more difficulties to come as regulators struggle to respond to the impacts of climate change on the marine environment. Similar issues are already playing out with summer flounder, another warm-water fish that is becoming more common off the north Atlantic coast.

How they are managed will have important implications not only for those fish but for lobsters and other key species in the ocean ecosystem.

"We're in an adaptive mode right now," said Bob Ballou, assistant to the director of the Rhode Island Department of Environmental Management and chairman of the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission's black sea bass and summer flounder boards. "It's occupying all our time to think through all the approaches to better manage these resources."

One of the key assumptions that the nation's fishery management system is built upon is that species don't move between general geographic regions.

That traditional regulatory framework held up for a long time, but rising water temperatures and the resulting shifts in species distribution and abundance are forcing the beginnings of change.

In the case of black sea bass, it's not that the population of the fish is simply relocating north. Numbers are still decent in the southern portion of the fish's range, but they are much stronger now off the coasts of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts—places where the waters used to be too cold to support large populations.

In Rhode Island, water temperatures in Narragansett Bay have risen about 3½-degrees Fahrenheit since 1959, according to weekly monitoring done by the Graduate School of Oceanography at the University of Rhode Island. Warmer winters, in particular, have allowed black sea bass to thrive this far north.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a fish trawl survey conducted by the DEM rarely caught a single black sea bass in Rhode Island waters, but incidence of the species has risen steadily, especially over the past decade, and now each trawl nets about two black sea bass on average.

Because black sea bass move between federal and state waters, the fish is managed jointly by the federal government, through the Mid-Atlantic Fishery Management Council, and states, including Rhode Island, through the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission.

Although scientists have long known that concentrations of the fish have been shifting north toward the Gulf of Maine, it wasn't until 2016 that regulators started to factor in the change.

That year, a new stock assessment for black sea bass formally recognized for the first time two distinct populations of the fish, a northern group around New England and a southern group from New Jersey to the Carolinas.

The growth in the northern group more than made up for the southern group's mediocre numbers, and the assessment determined the total population of the fish to be nearly two and a half times higher than the minimum stock threshold set by regulators.

"That was a really big step forward," said Jason McNamee, chief of marine resource management for the DEM. "The science is now catching up to what's going on with the environment."

But despite the robust overall picture for the fish, the ASFMC's proposed quotas for this year called for a 12-percent reduction in the northern region's catch to allow the southern region, the historic center of the black sea bass fishery, to increase its share.

Rhode Island, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut filed an appeal, and on May 3, the fisheries commission relented, allowing what amounts to a four-percent increase for the northern region.

The stakes are high for Rhode Island, which is experiencing deep changes to the composition of its marine species because of its location, at the junction of what ocean scientists call the Boreal Province—cold waters that include the Gulf of Maine to the north—and the Virginian Province—warmer waters of the mid-Atlantic to the south.

"We're right at the front lines of these changes," McNamee said. "These mid-Atlantic species are our most important species now."

Dave Monti reeled in another black sea bass.

Like the five others caught in Narragansett Bay on a recent morning, at less than 15 inches long, it was too small to keep. So Monti started working the hook out of its mouth.

"You've got to be careful of the dorsal fin," he warned. "It'll stick right into you."

As regulators have tightened catch limits for striped bass and other saltwater game fish that were historically abundant in Rhode Island waters, black sea bass has filled the void, said Monti, a charter boat captain who docks his boat in Wickford Harbor.

"They've saved my charters over the past couple years when other fish aren't around," he said.

Seas were too rough to visit his favorite place to fish for black sea bass, a patch of waters in the open ocean near Brenton Reef off Newport, so he steered his 44-foot boat the Virginia Joan to a few spots in the Bay between Jamestown and Narragansett.

Black sea bass is a reef fish that likes rocky bottoms and patrols the waters around jetties and pilings for prey. It's a hermaphrodite—some fish switch sexes as adults. The species can be found off Rhode Island year-round, typically coming inshore to the Bay in the spring to spawn and wintering farther off the coast.

Just south of the Jamestown Verrazzano Bridge, Monti reached for a rod from a holder overhead. He called it his "sea bass slayer." It was fitted with a shiny, red-tinted lure and he baited the hook with a slice of squid and a little fish called a silverside. A few minutes later, the first black sea bass was caught.

It doesn't take much work to find the fish these days, said Rick Bellavance, president of the Rhode Island Party and Charter Boat Association.

"Black sea bass are a charter boat operator's dream," he said. "They're pretty prevalent, they're easy to catch, and they taste great."

On a recent charter to Block Island, the six clients on Bellavance's boat caught only two striped bass and one bluefish between them, so he started setting lines for black sea bass. They promptly snagged 20 of the fish that were big enough to take home.

Although he applauded the new regulations, he said the changes have been slow to come and haven't gone far enough. He'd like to have the current six-month season extended year-round and the per-person daily limit raised to 10 fish.

"We need to recognize that the stock has shifted to the north and to the east," he said. "Rhode Island is closer to that epicenter than it used to be."

Monti, who is vice president of the Rhode Island Marine Fisheries Council, which advises the DEM on state fishing policy, agreed.

"There's no doubt the waters have warmed and black sea bass have moved in," he said. "The quotas haven't done a good enough job at figuring in climate change yet."

About half the morning's catch on Monti's boat were black sea bass. Among the rest were other warm-water fish that are becoming more common in Rhode Island: scup and summer flounder.

After Monti freed the little black sea bass from the hook, he held it in his hand. As the fish age, their scales become more blue. This one had yet to develop the bright coloring, but it was still striking.

"Pretty, isn't it?" Monti said as he dropped it back into the Bay.

Not everyone loves the fish.

Black sea bass have voracious appetites, hunting on the ocean bottom for crabs, clams and shrimp. The fish don't have teeth but will swallow crustaceans whole.

Lobstermen complain of pulling up their traps and finding black sea bass inside that have gobbled up their lobsters.

"I see it everyday," said Lanny Dellinger, a Newport lobsterman and board member of the Rhode Island Lobstermen's Association. "Everyday, every trawl. It doesn't matter if it's mud bottom, hard bottom, deep water, shallow water. There are so many black sea bass, it's unbelievable."

The rise of black sea bass is coming at the same time that the lobster catch is on a steep decline in Rhode Island, falling from 8.2 million pounds in 1998 to 2.3 million pounds in 2016, according to the National Marine Fisheries Service.

Lobster is a cold-water species that is moving north as Rhode Island's waters warm. The higher water temperatures have made the lobsters that remain more susceptible to shell disease. Dellinger and others believe that predation by black sea bass is also pushing down the lobster numbers.

Black sea bass could be contributing to the decline, but the fish is probably not the primary cause, said Jon Hare, science and research director at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Northeast Fisheries Science Center in Woods Hole. Crabs and other crustaceans that the fish eat aren't feeling similar impacts, he said.

McNamee agreed, saying that the fish generally prey on smaller juvenile lobsters, leaving the bigger ones alone.

As part of a larger study of black sea bass, the Rhode Island-based Commercial Fisheries Research Foundation is analyzing the gut contents of fish caught by nine participating commercial and recreational boats.

"We know that black sea bass do eat lobster, but we just don't know if the rate of consumption is having an impact on the size of the lobster population," said Anna Malek Mercer, executive director of the foundation.

One lobsterman sent her photos of a 2½-inch long lobster found inside a black sea bass in a trap.

"When they end up in lobster traps, there usually aren't any lobsters inside," she said.

Dellinger wants loosened regulations on both the recreational and commercial sides to allow fishermen to catch more black sea bass. He likened the fish to coyotes that

need to be culled or to rodents afflicting farmers.

"It's like owning a corn bin full of rats and nobody's allowed to get rid of them," he said.

Despite the recent changes, scientists and fishermen in Rhode Island say that the management system for black sea bass is still outdated.

Tellingly, none of the New England states has a seat on the Mid-Atlantic Fishery Management Council—one of the two key decision-making bodies for the species—even though much of the fish's population is located off the region's coast.

That has meant that allocations remain high for fishing boats in states like Virginia and North Carolina that must sometimes travel half a day north to find the fish, while Rhode Island boats are forced to discard their catch because, local fishermen say, their quotas aren't high enough.

The southern states don't want to give up their share because black sea bass fetches a good price—more than \$3 a pound on average—and the commercial fishery is growing in value—tripling since 2009 to more than \$12 million.

The black sea bass study being done by the CFRF is using different gear types—from gill nets to trawls to lobster traps—to gather more data on the species and strengthen stock assessments that may be missing some fish.

Malek Mercer said that scientists are getting a better understanding of the fish's changing population, but managing the species is the problem.

"For better or worse, science is not going to fix that," she said. "But if we get our management there, I do think we can have a really strong black sea bass fishery here."

McNamee described the management system as "deliberative and slow by design." He acknowledged the frustration felt by Rhode Island fishermen who have seen the state's traditional groundfish stocks drop off while black sea bass proliferate.

"There's still way more fish to catch than fishermen can get access to," he said.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, we have to fix this. To use the black sea bass example, the species is comanaged by the Mid-Atlantic Fishery Management Council and the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission. Rhode Island only has a seat on the Atlantic States Commission; it does not have a vote on the Mid-Atlantic Council. That means that my State is not fully represented in the decision-making process, and perfectly good black sea bass keeps being thrown into the sea by fishermen who ought to be able to bring that catch home.

In 2016, NOAA scientists assessed the vulnerability to the effects of climate change of over 80 commercially valuable species in the Northeast. So this is not just a story about black sea bass or about lobsters; this Northeast climate vulnerability assessment ranked species based on climate risk and sensitivities to changing ocean conditions.

Here is the climate risk factor graph. As we see, all 80 species scored in the high or very high risk of climate exposure categories. All 80 commercially valuable species they studied faced high or very high risk. This is a red flag for our fisheries.

Maine is the place for lobster. In Rhode Island, squid is king. In 2016, 56

percent of the longfin squid caught on the east coast was landed in Rhode Island. According to NOAA, this catch was valued at over \$28 million, accounting for nearly 30 percent of our landings value in 2016. But climate change is putting our calamari at risk. Warm waters may actually open more habitat for the species, but its carbon cousin, ocean acidification, is the hazard. Like its shellfish brethren, squid require calcium carbonate—for squid, it is to grow the hard beaks they use to feed. Acidic waters decrease the availability of this necessary compound in the seawater and can even dissolve calcium carbonate organisms' shells under extremely acidic conditions.

On the west coast, shellfish farmers have been dealing with ocean acidification since the mid-2000s. Dr. Richard Feely is the researcher who first identified ocean acidification as the cause for oyster spat failures in the Northwest back in 2005. He noted in a recent NPR article that the acidification problem is only going to get worse. "The acidification water welling up from the ocean floor now contains carbon dioxide gas emitted 50 years ago." Carbon emissions are worse since then. Some hatcheries in the Northwest are already moving operations to less acidic waters off Hawaii, and others are looking to buffer the water with seagrasses to absorb carbon and lower acidity. Shellfish farmers in Rhode Island are facing the challenge of acidifying waters as well.

At the same time, marine species are also facing deoxygenation, increased harmful algae, and other consequences of a warming and acidifying ocean. The symptoms of climate change in the ocean are everywhere.

A recent study in Global Change Biology warned that reduced oxygen availability could limit the growth of fish and other species. Fishermen can't make a living off sick and tiny fish.

California's lucrative Dungeness and rock crab season was cut short in 2015 to 2016 due to a harmful algae bloom.

Our Great Lakes have been hit too. I went out on Lake Erie after the horrible algae event there, and the fishermen who took me out sounded like Rhode Islanders. One of them said: "Everything I've learned from fishing a lifetime on this lake is worth nothing now, because it's all changing so fast."

If we have an opportunity to have an open, bipartisan debate on a strong Magnuson-Stevens Act reauthorization, I urge my colleagues not to overlook the toll climate change is taking on our fishing industry. The changes that are happening in our oceans do not care whether you believe they exist. The physics, chemistry, and biology driving these changes will happen anyway, and our fishermen are depending on us to give the scientists and the managers the tools and resources they need to meet the challenges climate change is bringing to our shores.

I now yield to my friend from Maine to give the perspective from his rocky shores.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I first want to thank Professor—I mean Senator WHITEHOUSE for the information he shared. It was compelling, important, and very worthy of our deep consideration.

To talk about renewing the Magnuson-Stevens Act without talking about the effects of climate change and the effects on the water itself would be an enormous missed opportunity.

First, I commend Senator WHITEHOUSE, the Senator from Rhode Island, for his longstanding commitment to the issue of climate change, the well-worn “Time to Wake Up” poster, and the work he has done over the years to force us to pay attention to this issue.

I am, as he indicated, going to talk about what is going on in the Gulf of Maine, but I want to broaden the discussion just for a few moments to talk about the issue of climate change as a broader question before us.

This isn’t some environmental dream. It is not something that was invented by someone. It was discovered by scientists, and it is dollars and cents. It is the most practical problem that we have to deal with.

I am on the Armed Services Committee. We are talking about military bases all over the world—some as close as right down in this region and then down toward Norfolk, VA—that are under a severe threat from rising sea levels and that are going to cost us billions, if not trillions, of dollars to upgrade and maintain because of rising sea levels. This isn’t something abstract. This is something that is happening today, and it is something that we are going to have to deal with that is going to have an enormous cost. The longer we put off preventing and dealing with this issue, the higher that cost is going to be.

There is a second reason this is a national security issue, and that is the aggravation of conflict and the initiation of migration. The number of refugees from Syria—which has disrupted the politics of Europe and disrupted many of the European countries and, indeed, has had a reflection here in this country—is roughly 3 to 4 million people. The estimate for refugees from climate change—from extreme temperature, from drought, from famine—is in the hundreds of millions as opposed to 3 to 4 million from Syria. Imagine the disruption to all of the countries of the world that are destinations for these refugees who are fleeing places that have become uninhabitable.

This is a question we are going to have to address, and, as our military characterizes it, it is a threat multiplier because when you have people moving from one region to another, you have conflict. From time immemorial, conflict has largely been based on things like access to water and access to arable land, and we are talking about an enormous accelerator of that across the world.

Now let me talk about the effects in my home State. First the good news. Lobster landings in Maine are up. We have ridden a lobster boom over the past 30 years. Since the 1980s, the poundage of lobsters harvested in Maine has grown 500 percent. When I was Governor, a good harvest of lobsters was 50 to 60 million pounds; 2 years ago, it was 127 million pounds—more than double. That is the good news.

The bad news is that it is starting to change, and we may have seen the turning point in this boom. We don’t know that, but the last 2 years have been down substantially from the peak in 2016. We will see what happens this year. Hopefully, it is a blip and not a trend.

By the way, one of the reasons the lobster industry has survived and flourished in Maine is not only the favorable impact of gradual increases in temperature but because of the conservation ethic of the lobstermen themselves, who voluntarily throw back egg-bearing females. They cut a V-notch in their tails so they won’t be caught again. If they are too small or too large, they throw them back. An amazing ethic of conservation has been imbued in the culture of lobstering and also in our laws for many years. So the fact that we still have a lobster fishery and that it is as vigorous and as productive as it is, is due in large measure to the creativity and conservation ethic of our lobstermen.

Here is the bad news. The bad news is, when water temperature gets to about 68 degrees, it is like turning a switch. It stresses the lobster population to the point where they can’t survive. The good news is, it gets warmer, and they multiply. The bad news is, once it reaches a certain critical point, the species could collapse. Indeed, that is what has happened, as the Senator from Rhode Island has indicated, to the once-plentiful lobster population of New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The problem is, over recent years—and I have talked to a lobsterman friend today, just this afternoon—the center of gravity of lobstering along the Maine coast is steadily moving north and east. He told me it has moved about 50 miles in the last 10 years.

The other problem that is occurring is that the lobsters are going further offshore to seek cooler water, which means the lobstermen have to go further. They have to have bigger boats. They have to make more of an investment in order to make a living.

Right now, we are in good shape, but the trend is not good. We are seeing other changes that have magnified both the boom, and what we are worried about is the bust. We have seen changes decline in some fish species like the cod that fed on baby lobsters. Now, as Senator WHITEHOUSE mentioned, we are seeing a growth of a fish that was never seen in Maine in the recent past, the black sea bass.

My friend tells me, today they are catching triggerfish in the Gulf of Maine, which is a North Carolina species. They have even caught seahorses in lobster traps. This is a dramatic change as the waters warm.

As I mentioned, if they get close to the 68-degree level, the lobster population is in trouble. It is not only lobsters. By the way, lobstering is a serious business in Maine—half a billion dollars just in land value, a billion and a half dollars in the overall economic impact of this species to our State.

By the way, before I leave the question of lobsters, I have to acknowledge the comments made by the Senator from Pennsylvania earlier when he was talking about the economy, and he flashed a warning light at the end of his remarks about trade and tariffs. We are already seeing the negative impact of what I consider ill-considered tariffs on China. The first place they retaliated was against lobsters. Twenty percent of the entire lobster catch in Maine is sold and exported to China. It is our fastest growing market. If the Chinese tariffs they have already announced are imposed and fully implemented, it could cut that to zero.

Canada doesn’t have those tariffs. Canada is not engaging in a trade war with China. Canada and other countries are moving into the vacuum we have created. The idea that we can impose tariffs on other countries without any ill effects here just isn’t true.

Right now, it looks like the lobster industry, soybeans in the Midwest, maple syrup in Vermont, other agricultural products across the country are going to be collateral damage in an incipient trade war that I don’t understand where it is going.

I would like to know what the strategy is. What is the end game? Where does this go? So far, I haven’t seen any indication of that. What I have seen an indication of is severely dangerous impacts on our economy industry.

Another part of our ocean ecosystem is clams. There is a massive decrease in harvest because of two reasons: One, acidification. As the Senator from Rhode Island indicated, 30 percent of all the carbon dioxide that has been emitted during the Industrial Revolution has ended up in acidification in the ocean and, two, nonnative green crabs, which are exploding because they like the warmer water. They have been around for 100 years, but that population is growing enormously. They are just devastating the clams. Green crabs can consume 40 half-inch clams a day. Those crabs have decimated blue mussels and scallops along the shore. They are going for clams, and we are concerned that maybe lobsters could be next.

Warming water and shifting predators are not the only challenges we face: more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, absorbed into the ocean, and one-quarter of what is emitted goes into the ocean. The ocean then becomes more acidic. Any kind of shelled

animals—lobsters, clams, oysters—expend evermore energy maintaining the pH balance in their bodies, and that means they can't grow and reproduce. The world's oceans have become 30 percent more acidic since the Industrial Revolution.

Oysters have become a great new product for Maine. We are growing them in oyster farms along the Damariscotta River and other places. You can go to fancy restaurants and see Damariscotta oysters. They are wonderful.

My friend Bill Mook, who is one of the pioneers of the oyster industry in Maine, has had to move the incubation of his oysters out of the ocean, out of the natural river, onshore, and into tanks so he can buffer the water to minimize the acidification and then put them back in the water to grow out. That is a pure result of climate change and acidification of the ocean.

Freshwater runoff is another issue that increases the acidification. We have had an enormous increase in the amount of freshwater rainfall in this country, and in Maine that has increased the acidification in the oceans. What do we do? The first thing we do is admit there is a problem. You can't solve a problem if you act like there is nothing wrong. The first thing we have to do is admit there is a problem. I think more and more people are coming to that conclusion.

When this administration was nominating people, the refrain I heard in all of the hearings was climate is changing, man has an impact on it, but we don't know how much.

That is progress. At least it is an admission that something is happening. What do we do? We admit there is a problem. I think we are close to reaching that point.

The second thing we have to do is more research. We have to continue to fund the science to do the research to understand what is happening, to understand what we can do to mitigate these risks. Research and scientific data is crucial. For some of our great agencies that have the people who have been researching this for years, to be suppressing the research or not supporting it or burying it is not a service to our country. Research is crucial. We need the facts. We need the data. We need mitigation strategies. We also need to pay attention to the underlying cause of climate change, which is a combustion of fossil fuels and the enormous amount of carbon dioxide that is being added to the atmosphere.

This is a long-term challenge. It is not something we can solve in the next 1 or 2 years. Some people ask: Well, it is such a long-term challenge, why are we doing it? Because it may not be solved for 50 years.

In my office is Edmund Muskie's desk. I sit behind Edmund Muskie's desk—one of the greatest Senators of the 20th century and one of the greatest citizens Maine has ever produced. Fifty years ago—2 years from now,

1970—Edmond Muskie led the passage of the Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act, which are two of the greatest and most important pieces of legislation passed in this body in the last 100 years; the first real recognition that we had a responsibility to the environment, that we had a responsibility to our children and our grandchildren. By the way, astoundingly, the Clean Water Act passed the U.S. Senate unanimously. Can you imagine? We can't agree on the time of day unanimously in this body. In 1970, under Ed Muskie's leadership, the Clean Water Act was passed unanimously.

The point I want to make is, the steps they took almost 50 years ago have cleaned up our rivers, have cleaned up our atmosphere, have made parts of our country blossom again.

In Maine, we are working on our rivers. The towns that turned their backs on the rivers are now turning back toward the rivers because people can fish, swim, and enjoy the rivers. When Ed Muskie started his lonely crusade in the late 1960s, the rivers were essentially open sewers.

Fifty years ago, Ed Muskie started that work. We see the benefit of it today. We should be doing the same thing. The fact that it may not come to fruition for 20, 30, 40, or 50 years is no reason to not start now. We have to start. This isn't pie in the sky. This isn't somebody trying to impose new regulations. This isn't something that is made up by environmentalists or people who just don't want to see any development. No. This is lives and livelihood. These are families, communities. It is responsible stewardship and just plain common sense.

There is a lot of science, and there is a lot of complexity to this issue. It seems to me we can take inspiration from Ed Muskie, Howard Baker, and all those a generation ago who built the edifice upon which we have a cleaner, healthier, stronger economy and stronger society.

I remember those days. The great debate was payrolls versus pickerel. You couldn't have payrolls if you preserved the pickerel. It turned out to not be true. We have developed the strongest economy in the history of the world. Yet we paid attention to the environment. We have paid attention to our responsibilities, to our children and our grandchildren, and we created the economy at the same time we were able to clean up the environment.

I remember those debates. They were bitter. You can't do it. If you do this, you are going to put everything out of business. There will be no economy. That was the argument. It hasn't happened.

Finally, you can talk about the science. You can get caught up in all the data. To me, there is a really easy rule that makes this easy to understand what our responsibilities are. I call it the "Maine rototiller rule." Many people in Maine have gardens, but it is a small garden. It is in your

backyard, so it doesn't make sense for everybody to buy a rototiller—the machine you use once or twice a year to clean your garden and till over the ground and begin to plant. We borrow them. I used to borrow one from my neighbor Peter Cox. The "Maine rototiller rule" goes like this. When you borrow your neighbor's rototiller, you return it to them in as good a shape as you got it, with a full tank of gas.

That is all you need to know about environmental stewardship. Do you know what? We have the planet on loan. We don't own it. We own a little piece of land for a generation, but we don't own it. We have it on loan from our children and our grandchildren and their children and their grandchildren. Therefore, we have a sacred responsibility to turn over the planet to them in the same or better shape than we found it. That is our responsibility. It is very simple. When you borrow something from your neighbor, you return it in as good a shape as you found it. That is what we should be doing today.

We can do this. There will be costs, but the costs of not doing it will dwarf the costs we can undertake today to protect the Gulf of Maine, the coast of the United States, the fields of Africa, the forests of North America, and the land and water and air that our children and grandchildren deserve to have passed on to them in better shape than we found it.

We can do this. We can start today. We may not live to see the results, but we will know we have done something important, something meaningful, something that will make a difference in the lives of generations we don't know. They will know what we do or what we don't do. I myself choose the side of action—recognizing the problem, analyzing it, understanding it, and acting to mitigate the harms that otherwise will befall our children.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, Senator KING and I yield the floor.

First, let me thank him for joining us. Second, with Senators present here from landlocked States, let me make the requests to both of you that, when we come before this body with concerns about what is happening to our ocean economies, which I think are shared by every coastal Senator who is seeing these changes, that you view our pleas with the same courtesy and respect that we show you when wildfires burn through Utah and we come to make sure that there is adequate emergency response or when Oklahoma faces hurricanes or cyclones and tornadoes and the Federal Government and the Senate rally to the response of those who are experiencing the pain of that in your States. Our fishing communities and our coastal communities have a very different distress, but I hope you will see it as an equal distress and pay us the courtesy of your due consideration.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE).
The Senator from Oklahoma.

SECURING OUR ELECTIONS

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, there has been a lot of conversation again, of late, about election security. It seems to be a frequent conversation in the hallways the last couple of days, and it is an ongoing issue that I think some people have lost track of, but we have not.

AMY KLOBUCHAR and I and several others have worked very hard for months on this issue of election security, quietly trying to get the language right and to work through the process of what it takes to secure our elections for 2018, 2020, and beyond, learning the lesson from 2016.

I do want to remind this body that the elections are not something that happens this November. It is already ongoing. Many States' primaries have already been conducted. Last night there was a runoff primary that happened in Alabama. Georgia holds their runoff primaries next week, and Tennessee is the week after that. Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, and Washington will be on Tuesday, August 7. It is already ongoing.

While we watch the indictments that just came down from the Mueller investigation on GRU officers from Russia who were trying to interfere in our elections in 2016, as we have seen the sanctions and the indictments that have come down on some of the oligarchs from Russia and from the Internet Research Agency for what they were doing in social media, trying to be able to interfere with our election in 2016, I think it may be important for us to do a quick lookback at what has happened and what is still going on and what we are trying to accomplish in the next few weeks.

Let me just give a quick look at what is happening in my State of Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, in the 2016 cycle, the FBI and others began to discover that there were issues with the elections and some interference from what they, at that time, called "bad actors" in June of 2016. Later that summer, in August of 2016, the FBI issued what they call a nationwide "flash alert" to every State dealing with a threat from a "bad actor."

The Oklahoma State Cyber Command director received that warning, as did everyone else, but at that time the FBI didn't share any details because no one in my State was given security clearance to be able to have that kind of classified conversation with the FBI.

It wasn't until September 22 of 2017, a year and a little bit later, that DHS actually notified my State and our State election authorities that we hadn't just been targeted by a bad actor but that we had been targeted by the Russians—a year later—because no one had clearance and there was no one engaged.

DHS told Oklahoma State Election Board secretary Paul Ziriaux, who is doing a great job, that there was evidence that the Russians conducted a

surveillance scan looking into vulnerabilities in the State computer network, but they didn't get into the election board computer network, and they didn't get into any of our equipment.

They basically came and checked to see if the door was locked, and they found out that in Oklahoma the door was locked, and the Russians could not get in. They didn't penetrate into our system, though they tried.

But it was a year after the elections before we were even notified that the Russians were trying to penetrate our system. A subtle flash warning is all that we received in the summer of 2016.

Oklahoma has a great system for elections. Our system is consistent across every single county. We have optical scanners with a paper ballot backup so that we can verify the computer count with a hand count if needed. We have had a very good system. That system was tested by the Russians when they evaluated the computer networks of our State, and they were also not able to get in, thanks to the leadership of some of the cyber and the technology folks who are in Oklahoma.

Not all States have the same practices. In some States, from county to county their election systems are different. From township to township they may have different systems with different companies and different backgrounds. They may not have the same kind of system where they get a chance to protect their cyber systems.

We saw that in 2016, when the Russians were able to penetrate some of the States and actually were able to harvest some of their voter register rolls. They weren't able to change any votes. They weren't able to affect the voting that day, but they did a tremendous amount of scanning through systems to be able to see where there were vulnerabilities, what they could learn on our election systems, and how they could engage for a future time.

I think we should learn a lesson from that and be aware that the Russians are trying to penetrate that system and learning as much as they could.

At the same time that they were hacking into different systems and testing them out to see if they could get in, a different set of folks from the Russian group the Internet Research Agency were trying to put out social media disinformation.

Some 200,000 Oklahomans saw Facebook and Twitter posts that Russians put out as false information. They weren't all on one candidate. There were multiple candidates and multiple issues. Sometimes it was on Hillary Clinton, sometimes on Donald Trump, sometimes on BERNIE SANDERS, sometimes on Jill Stein, and sometimes just on ideological issues. Over 200,000 Oklahomans saw those posts from different Russians, not knowing they were Russian posts at all. They were Russians pretending to be Americans, and they were pushing that information out.

What can we learn from this? One is the most simple of those things: You shouldn't believe everything you see on the internet. It is not always an American. It is not always who they post to be, and it is not always true. It should be the most basic information that we should learn about what is happening on the internet and what is online, including Facebook and Twitter.

The other lesson that we need to learn is a little more complicated. We have to be able to have better communication between the Federal Government and States, better cybersecurity systems, and the ability to audit that.

That is why Senator KLOBUCHAR and I have worked for months on a piece of legislation called the Secure Elections Act. That piece has worked its way through every State looking at it and their election authorities. We have worked it through multiple committee hearings. In fact, recently, just in the last month, there were two different hearings in the Rules Committee. It is now ready to be marked up and finalized to try to bring it to this body.

It is a very simple piece. It affirms that States run elections. The Federal Government should not take over elections nationwide. In fact, that would make a bad situation worse. States need to be able to run elections and be able to manage those.

But it qualifies several things. One is that it gives a security clearance to a person in every single State. If there is a threat from a hostile actor, there is not some vague warning that comes out. There is an immediate address about what is happening and a communication within the intelligence community here on the Federal level to individuals with a clearance on the State level.

Right now, the DHS, in absence of this legislation, has started implementing it anyway. Every single State has at least one person with a security clearance now, including my own. They are working to have at least three in every State to do a backup system.

We also need to be able to affirm that every State can audit their elections, that they would do what is called risk-limiting audits after the election just to check and to make sure that the results are correct, but also that they have the ability to audit it as the election is going on so that it is not just counting on a machine but that there is also some way to back it up. States have a variety of ways they can actually do that.

If elections are trusting that the electronics are going to work and not be hacked into and not be affected, we should have learned the lesson from 2016 that there are outside entities trying to attack these systems and to find vulnerabilities, and they will.

Some way to be able to back it up, to be able to audit the election while it is happening, risk-limiting audits after the fact, security clearances for individuals within States, and rapid communication State to State and State to

Federal Government all help to maintain the integrity of our elections.

That is what we do in the Secure Elections Act. I think it is so important that we try to resolve this as quickly as possible.

I encourage this body to finish the markup in the Rules Committee to be able to bring it to the floor and to have a consistent bipartisan vote to be able to support the work that we need to continue to do to protect our elections in the days ahead.

Our Republic is one that maintains its stability based on the integrity of our elections. I have zero doubt that the Russians tried to destabilize our Nation in 2016 by attacking the core of our democracy. Anyone who believes they will not do it again has missed the basic information that is out day after day in our intelligence briefings.

The Russians have done it the first time. They showed the rest of the world the lesson and what could be done. It could be the North Koreans the next time. It could be the Iranians the next time. It could be a domestic activist group the next time. We should learn that lesson, close that vulnerability, and make sure that we protect our systems in the days ahead.

There is more that can be done, but the States seem to take a lead on this. This is something that the Federal Government should do, and we are very close to getting it done. I wanted to be able to tell this body that we are close. Let us work together to get this done in the days ahead.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATO

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, thank you.

Last week at the NATO summit in Brussels, the leaders of all 29 member states, including the United States with President Trump, signed a declaration reaffirming the purpose of the alliance—collective defense and the importance of article 5, which regards being attacked against one ally as an attack against all others.

There may be a growing sense here in the United States that NATO is no longer useful to our interests and that it is a burden that is not worth the cost.

I recently traveled to Moscow, Oslo, and Helsinki with members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, many of us on the Subcommittee on Defense. We had meetings with U.S. Embassy officials, our Ambassadors, and foreign government officials—people within the ministries of foreign affairs, ministries of defense, and with legislative leaders in that region.

At my meetings in Moscow, we worked to begin a dialogue with Russian counterparts. Everything I heard in those meetings reinforces my belief that Russia remains a threat to European stability and that a united NATO is essential to countering the threat and preserving American peace and prosperity.

Two wars in Europe last century resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of American lives who fought the forces of tyranny. To prevent a third war against this Communist menace, Western European powers, still weakened by World War II, formed an alliance with America and Canada to deter the Soviet Union's massive conventional forces from invading beyond what became the eastern bloc.

Not only did NATO successfully deter the Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991—and in my view, NATO contributed to the Soviet Union collapse in a significant way—but in that process, America's commitment to European security allowed these allies to recover from the war economically, strengthened democratic governance, and enabled them to stop fearing one another.

We would be naive to believe that threats critical to North Atlantic security have faded along with the Soviet Union. Indeed, my recent interactions in Europe confirmed that Russia remains a revisionist power intent on continuing Russia's disruptive activities in Europe, the Middle East, and here at home in the United States.

In every meeting I attended, I made clear that the Russians must end their election-meddling here in the United States and Europe in order to open doors to rebuilding our relations. I brought up Russia's destabilizing support for separatists in Ukraine and its illegal seizure of Crimea after Ukraine democratically chose a President who sought closer ties with the West.

Supporting and admitting that they share intelligence with the Taliban undermines the democratic government in Afghanistan and undermines our Nation's military as we continue to fight the Taliban alongside the Afghan National Security Forces.

In each circumstance of those conversations, Russian officials, including Foreign Minister Lavrov, continued to obfuscate or outright deny any responsibility. However, those meetings left me unconvinced that Russia is prepared to change its behavior.

In subsequent talks in Norway, a NATO member, and Finland, a NATO partner, the concerns relayed to me by these European leaders underscore the fear our European friends have about Russian activities. During our meetings, my colleagues and I reassured them of America's commitment to our joint security, and that commitment from the entire U.S. Government must not waver.

The first Supreme Allied Commander in Europe overseeing all NATO military operations was Kansas's own Dwight D. Eisenhower. As President in

1957, he declared before our NATO allies that we must "re-dedicate ourselves to the task of dispelling the shadows that are being cast upon the free world."

In addition to ongoing Russian subterfuge, terrorist groups remain intent on striking the West, threats to data information require strong cyber security measures, and the scourge of human and drug trafficking degrades social structures. On these and other issues, NATO allies have coordinated and contributed to the security of our own country, the United States of America.

In particular, let's recall that only once has NATO invoked article 5—in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on our country. The only time the NATO alliance has been asked to respond, they declared a willingness to respond—that an attack on one is an attack on all—when the United States of America was attacked on 9/11.

When we went to war against al-Qaida and its Taliban hosts in Afghanistan, we were not alone. The United States has nearly 15,000 troops serving in Afghanistan, and they are serving with NATO coalition forces as part of counterterrorism efforts to support Afghanistan's fight against the Taliban and ISIS, which has seized strategic territories in recent years.

We are approaching 17 years of support from our NATO allies in Afghanistan—support that has come even at the expense of the blood of those who serve. Just last week, I am saddened to say, two U.S. Army soldiers paid the ultimate sacrifice and were killed while serving in Afghanistan, and at least two more soldiers have been wounded from insurgent attacks.

Finally, there is an economic threat that a destabilized Europe poses to our Nation's well-being. The EU—distinct from NATO but certainly a beneficiary of the security provided—is America's largest trading partner.

Questioning why we should come to the defense of the smallest NATO member damages the alliance, and it hurts our alliances elsewhere. If we won't honor a treaty in Europe, friends might wonder why we would honor a treaty in Asia. Predators can take advantage of our perceived indifference. That is, in part, what led to the Korean war.

The United States contributes 22 percent of NATO's total budget. In addition to our NATO contributions, the United States continues to increase defense spending on our military presence supporting our partners, with more than \$6 billion in fiscal year 2019 appropriated for the European Deterrence Initiative and another \$792 million invested in military construction across the continent.

President Trump is absolutely right to urge fellow allies to increase their defense spending, and I echoed that message on our trip to Norway when we visited with those allies in Oslo. To the credit of our allies, they have increased spending by more than \$40 billion in the past year.

Fighting alongside us in Afghanistan, where they continue to serve beside us today, unfortunately, more than 1,000 Europeans have died.

NATO is strong, and it is getting stronger. I believe the strength of NATO relies on remaining unified. Words matter, and what Americans say can bolster or shake confidence in the United States.

I will conclude on this personal note. I thought of the force for good our country has provided the world as I stood in our Embassy in Moscow on July 4th, our Independence Day, watching the Marine Corps Honor Guard's presentation of the colors as our national anthem was sung. It is difficult for me to sing the national anthem without choking up wherever I am, but it was especially difficult that day as I reflected upon the course of events in my life—when kids practiced getting under their desks for missile drills, to the fall of the Berlin Wall, to the aftermath of 9/11, to a father who served in World War II. I honor him and all those who served.

Over the past 70 years, it is America that has safeguarded freedom for our people and for those who live elsewhere in the world. Along the way, our vision of a freer, more prosperous world attracted allies who shared our dream.

Our foremost responsibility is to protect Americans all the time and to promote our values around the world. We can do this better. We can do this with our allies. With them, we will have a better future.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROUNDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ROUNDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE NATO OBSERVER GROUP

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, in April, the Democratic leader and I announced the reestablishment of the Senate NATO Observer Group. Senators TILLIS and SHAHEEN, both Members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, were named cochairs. We have asked for the following Senators

to participate: BARRASSO, RUBIO, GARDNER, ERNST, ROUNDS, MERKLEY, COONS, KING, BOOKER and VAN HOLLEN.

BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise to submit to the Senate the budget scorekeeping report for July 2018. The report compares current-law levels of spending and revenues with the amounts the Senate agreed to in the budget resolution for fiscal year 2018, H. Con. Res. 71, and the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (BBA18). This information is necessary for the Senate Budget Committee to determine whether budgetary points of order lie against pending legislation. The Republican staff of the Senate Budget Committee and the Congressional Budget Office, CBO, prepared this report pursuant to section 308(b) of the Congressional Budget Act (CBA).

This is the fifth scorekeeping report this year and the second since I filed new enforceable levels on May 7, pursuant to BBA18 requirements. My last filing can be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 6, 2018. The information included in this report is current through July 16, 2018.

Republican Budget Committee staff prepared Tables 1–6.

Table 1 gives the amount by which each Senate authorizing committee exceeds or is below its allocation for budget authority and outlays under the most recently adopted budget resolution and the fiscal year 2019 enforceable levels filing. This information is used for enforcing committee allocations pursuant to section 302 of the CBA. For this reporting period, 10 of the 16 authorizing committees are in compliance with their allocations.

During this reporting period, Congress cleared two pieces of legislation with significant budgetary effects scored to authorizing committees. The first bill was H.R. 770, the American Innovation \$1 Coin Act. This measure requires the Secretary of the Treasury to mint, beginning in 2019, new \$1 coins “in recognition of American innovation and significant innovation and pioneering efforts of individuals or groups from each of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and the United States territories.” CBO estimates that H.R. 770 would increase direct spending in the near term by \$3 million but would be deficit-neutral over the entire budget window. This bill was charged to the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. The second bill was H.R. 5956, the Northern Mariana Islands U.S. Workforce Act of 2018. This bill modifies U.S. immigration policy regarding the Northern Mariana Islands, thereby reducing the number of people able to claim asylum and receive means-tested benefits. CBO estimates that this bill would save \$3 million over the budget window. H.R. 5956 was charged to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

Tables 2–6 remain unchanged from my last filing.

In addition to the tables provided by Budget Committee Republican staff, I am submitting CBO tables, which I will use to enforce budget totals approved by Congress.

Because legislation can still be enacted that would have an effect on fiscal year 2018, CBO has provided a report both for fiscal year 2018 and fiscal year 2019. This information is used to enforce aggregate spending and revenue levels in the budget resolution under section 311 of the CBA. CBO's estimates show that current-law levels of spending for fiscal year 2018 exceed the amounts in H. Con. Res. 71 by \$157.4 billion in budget authority and \$106.3 billion in outlays. Revenues are \$3.2 billion above the revenue floor for fiscal year 2018 set by the budget resolution. Social Security outlays are at the levels assumed by the resolution, while Social Security revenues are \$446 million below the levels in the budget.

For fiscal year 2019, CBO estimates that current-law levels are below the fiscal year 2019 enforceable aggregates by \$1,142.2 billion in budget authority and \$646.1 billion in outlays. The allowable spending room will be reduced as appropriations bills are enacted. Revenues are \$5 million below the level assumed for fiscal year 2019. Finally, Social Security outlays and revenues are at the levels assumed in the fiscal year 2019 enforcement filing.

CBO's report also provides information needed to enforce the Senate pay-as-you-go, PAYGO, rule. After accounting for enacted legislation during this reporting period, the PAYGO scorecard shows deficit increases in fiscal year 2019 of \$25 million—\$5 million revenue loss, \$20 million outlay increase—over the fiscal year 2019–2023 period of \$332 million—\$47 million revenue loss, \$285 million outlay increase—and over the fiscal year 2019–2028 period of \$487 million—\$108 million revenue loss, \$379 million outlay increase. The Senate's PAYGO rule is enforced by section 4106 of H. Con. Res. 71.

Included in this submission is a table tracking the Senate's budget enforcement activity on the floor since the May 7 enforcement filing. On June 18, 2018, Senator BERNARD SANDERS raised a Senate PAYGO point of order against H.R. 5515, the John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019. That point of order was waived by a vote of 81–14. H.R. 5515 has yet to be enacted and is currently in conference.

All years in the accompanying tables are fiscal years.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying tables be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: